

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 07256 01 OF 02 060902Z

10

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 SS-15 OMB-01 COME-00 EB-07

LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05 /082 W
----- 034527

R 060845Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9864

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07256

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GW, SP, PO

SUBJECT: SPD ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN AND
PORTUGAL

REF: MADRID 2829

BEGIN SUMMARY: SPD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY HANS-EBER-
HARD DINGELS GAVE EMBASSY OFFICERS MAY 2 GERMAN SOCIAL
DEMOCRATS' CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN
AND PORTUGAL. DINGELS SAID THAT THE SIZE OF SAORES'
VICTORY WAS A SURPRISE BUT THAT PORTUGAL'S SOCIALISTS
HAD TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN HANDLING THE SITUATION IN ORDER
TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND DIFFI-
CULTIES WITH THE AMF. PESSIMISTIC STATEMENTS BY US
PRESS, HE SAID, DID NOT HELP DEMOCRATIC
FORCES IN PORTUGAL. HE THOUGHT THAT THE EC SHOULD HELP
PROVIDE MARKETS FOR PORTUGUESE EXPORTS. IN ORDER TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 07256 01 OF 02 060902Z

PREPARE FOR SPAIN AFTER FRANCO, DINGELS SAID, IT WAS

IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUALS IN AND OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT. DINGELS EMPHASIZED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO FORMALLY LINK THE PRESENT SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO NATO COULD LEAD TO PORTUGUESE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ALLIANCE. END SUMMARY

1. IN A MAY 2 MEETING WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS, SPD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY DINGELS GAVE THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN:

2. PORTUGAL: THE RESULTS OF THE PORTUGUESE ELECTIONS WERE SURPRISING (E.G., THE SOCIALISTS DID MUCH BETTER THAN EXPECTED). SOARES WILL HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFUL HOW HE HANDLES THE SITUATION AND MUST AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND DIFFICULTIES WITH THE AMF. PESSIMISTIC STATEMENTS BY THE AMERICAN PRESS THAT PORTUGAL IS DRIFTING TO THE LEFT DO NOT HELP DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN THAT COUNTRY. PORTUGAL DESPERATELY NEEDS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF MARKETS FOR ITS EXPORTS (TOMATOES, PORT WINE, ETC.). THE EC COULD AND SHOULD HELP BUT, UNFORTUNATELY, THE BUREAUCRACY IN BRUSSELS MOVES VERY SLOWLY. PORTUGAL SHOULD NOT BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY BECAUSE IT COULD NOT SURVIVE THE COMPETITION BUT SHOULD RECEIVE PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FROM THE EC AS A DEVELOPING NATION. WESTERN BUSINESSMEN WILL HAVE TO FACE UP TO THE FACT THAT OUTSIDE OF A SMALL NUMBER OF COUNTRIES (WHICH IS DECREASING) FREE MARKET ECONOMIES DO NOT EXIST. THE BUSINESSMEN WILL HAVE TO ADJUST THEIR THINKING TO THE NECESSITY OF INVESTING IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE NON-CAPITALISTIC ECONOMIES WHICH COULD ENTAIL GREATER RISK. THE FRG, UNFORTUNATELY DOES NOT HAVE A SYSTEM TO PROVIDE INVESTMENT GUARANTEES FOR INVESTMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE OR PORTUGAL. IT WOULD HELP IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE TO GUARANTEE INVESTMENTS IN PORTUGAL AS IT DOES INVESTMENTS IN DEVELOPING NATIONS.

3. SPAIN: THE PRESENT REGIME IS DYING AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION COULD CHANGE QUICKLY. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP PERSONAL CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 07256 01 OF 02 060902Z

CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUALS IN AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO SUPPORT ORDERLY CHANGE IN THE FUTURE. THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN SPAIN, WHICH OPPOSE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY FOR GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, BUT WESTERN DEMOCRACIES SHOULD NOT BECOME IDENTIFIED WITH THE INTERNAL POLICIES OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

4. IN SPAIN, UNLIKE PORTUGAL, THE POLITICAL PARTIES OUTSIDE THE REGIME (E.G., LIBERALS, CHRISTIANS, SOCIALISTS) HAVE A POLITICAL TRADITION. CONSEQUENTLY, THE SOCIALISTS IN SPAIN (FOR EXAMPLE, PSOE) ARE MORE REALISTIC THAN SOARES' SOCIALISTS WERE IN THE BEGINNING. THE SPD HAS CLOSE RELATIONS TO THE PSOE BUT ALSO HAS CONTACTS WITH OTHER SOCIALIST GROUPS. THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE A DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE SPANISH MILITARY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 07256 02 OF 02 060900Z

12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 SS-15 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04

SIL-01 AID-05 OMB-01 /082 W

----- 034513

R 060845Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9865

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 07256

SIMILAR TO THE PORTUGUESE EXPERIENCE. THIS IS PARTLY BECAUSE SPAIN DOES NOT HAVE COLONIES WHICH IN THE CASE OF PORTUGAL SERVED AS A BREEDING GROUND FOR THE RADICALIZATION OF THE MILITARY. ONE HAD TO BE VERY CAREFUL, HOWEVER, IN PREDICTING DEVELOPMENTS WITH THE MILITARY AS THE PORTUGUESE EXAMPLE PROVED.

5. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS (US, FRG, ETC.) SHOULD DEVELOP BILATERAL LINKS WHICH WILL HELP TO TIE POST-FRANCO SPAIN TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO ATTEMPT TO FORMALLY LINK NATO TO THE PRESENT REGIME. AMONG OTHER THINGS, LINKING SPAIN WITH NATO WOULD HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON PORTUGAL AND WOULD PROVIDE A PROPAGANDA WEAPON FOR THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS. UP UNTIL NOW THERE HAS BEEN NO SERIOUS PRESSURE IN PORTUGAL TO LEAVE NATO BUT THE PRESSURE WOULD BUILD UP IF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 07256 02 OF 02 060900Z

THERE WAS TO BE A FORMAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN NATO AND FRANCO'S SPAIN. DINGELS ALSO MADE THE POINT, WHICH HE CLEARLY THOUGHT IMPORTANT, THAT ANTI-REGIME FORCES IN SPAIN WOULD REACT VERY UNFAVORABLY TO EFFORTS TO LINK SPAIN WITH NATO AT THIS POINT. THEY WOULD INTERPRET SUCH EFFORTS AS AIMED AT SHORING UP THE FRANCO SYSTEM, AND HE ARGUED THIS COULD TURN THEM AND SPANISH MODERATES GENERALLY AGAINST ANY ATTEMPT THAT MIGHT BE MADE IN A POST-FRANCO SITUATION TO BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO.

6. COMMENT: DINGELS DID NOT MENTION THAT HE PLANS TO VISIT SPAIN AND WE DID NOT RAISE THE MATTER.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LEADERS, OPPOSITION PARTIES, VISITS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN07256
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750158-0048
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750575/aaaacqib.tel
Line Count: 199
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 MADRID 2829
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <16 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPD ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GE, SP, PO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006